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Kwangsi Province, like Kwangtung, lies near the Pearl River. It was for many years under the separate rule of Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi, both of whom were strongly opposed to Communism. Long before the Communists came into power, Li and Pai warned the people of Kwangsi against the threat of Communism, and as a result the Communists found it most difficult to win the support of the people. Li Ch'u-li, a member of the Kwangsi Provincial Government, mentioned in a report in October 1950 that the membership in the peasants' associations was only 1,340,000, the second smallest membership in the Central-South China Region.[19]

IV. THE REPRESENTATIVES' CONFERENCE

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The Representatives' Conference was utilized by the Communists in the period 1950-53 as a preparation for the People's Congress, which had not yet been established. Chairman Wu Chih-p'u gave a report on the representatives' conferences held in the counties, municipalities, and Peasants' Associations of Honan, listing the number of conferences held and the membership involved.

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19. Li Ch'u-li "San-nien-nei Shih-hsien Kuang-hsi-sheng Ti T'u-ti Kai-ko Shih Kuang-hsi-sheng Jen-min Ti Kuang-yung Jen-wu" ["To Complete Land Reform in Kwangsi within Three Years is the Proud Task of the Kwangsi People"], Ibid., p. 967.

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Representatives' Conferences */

Location	No. of Members	No. of Conferences
Counties.....	31,472	141
Ten Municipalities.	5,430	44
County Peasants' Associations....	213,750	1,130
Hsiang Peasants' Associations...	466,587	9,254
Total.....	717,239	10,569

*/ Wu Chih-p'u, "Ho-nan-sheng Jen-min Cheng-fu I-nien-lai Shih-cheng Kung-tso Pao-kao" ["Report on the Administration of Honan People's Government during the Past Year"], Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien, 1950, [Compendium of Government Reports, 1950], Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, pp. 835-36.

The Chinese Communists believe that required participation in conferences gives the people an understanding of the operation of the Communist form of "democratic" government.

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The Wang Shou-tao, chairman of Hunan, also gave an account of the practice of holding the Representatives' Conferences in Hunan Province. In 9,564 hsiang out of a total of 14,830 peasants' associations were formed with a total membership

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of 4,600,000. The peasants' associations were expected to send delegates to the Representatives' Conferences held at the county and municipality levels. Wang mentioned that in 67 counties and municipalities at least one representatives' conference was held, and in some cases as many as four conferences were held in the period from June to October 1950. These conferences, Wang claimed, influenced the work of the county governments. In the hsiang, the peasants' association was used as a substitute for the representatives' conference, and members were permitted to elect the officials of the hsiang executive branch.

This eagerness to bring the people together for conferences was shown by Wang Shou-tao[20] and also by Cheng Shao-wen, Minister of Civil Affairs, who reported to the Military and Political Committee of Central-South China on democratic reconstruction work in November 1952. They seemed to believe that there was a correlation between the number of conferences and the political progress made by the Communist regime in that particular area. Cheng Shao-wen gave the following figures concerning the representatives' conferences held in each county and all provinces from 1950 to July 1952.

Province	Average No. of Conferences
Honan	7.99
Hunan	5.85
Hupeh	6.68
Kiangsi	7.54
Kwangsi	5.00
Kwangtung	4.95

20. W ng Shou-tao, op. cit., p. 898.

In each province, a Provincial Representives' Conference was held at least twice, and the Representatives' Conference for the municipality of Wuchang-Hankow was held five times; the conference for Canton was convened seven times; conferences in forty smaller cities in this region were held eight times; and in the municipality of Nanchang, a conference was held fourteen times. The publication of these figures was offered not only in compliment to the zealous conference workers, but also served as an implied rebuke to those who refused to show the required degree of enthusiasm.

In the preparatory stage, representatives to the conferences were elected from a number of professional groups, including the peasants' associations, the trade unions, the chambers of commerce and industry, and the cultural and educational associations. Cheng's report clearly shows that in this period many mistakes were committed, but these were seized upon and re-examined so that future mistakes might be avoided when the People's Congress, at all levels, should next be convened. Many illegal practices were discovered. Sometimes a candidate was chosen without the formality of election; in other cases representatives were appointed by the Party; in other cases substitutes were chosen for those representatives already elected. Cheng also reported that in some instances landlords and counter revolutionaries were elected to the representatives' conferences.

On the other hand, Cheng's report includes examples of cases in which members of the Representatives' Conference in Hsi-shui County had the courage to accuse members of the Communist

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Party cadres of corruption, extravagance with government funds, bureaucracy, violations of laws, and "independent" action counter to government policy. Among those accused were members of the Communist county branch, the head of the county, the chief of the commercial and artisan division, the chief of the cultural and educational division, a secretary of a district branch of the Chinese Communist Party, and a principal of a high school.[21]

V. THE NEW CONSTITUTION

An electoral law for the People's Congress on all levels was promulgated on March 1, 1953. Then followed the registration of voters, the choice of candidates, the institution of election campaigns, the elections, and the counting of ballots.

The meeting of the National People's Congress, which was scheduled for September 1954, was preceded by the election of deputies to the provincial, municipal, county, and hsiang People' congresses of a province, a county, and a municipality divided into districts shall be elected by the People's Congress on the next lower level.

21. Cheng Shao-wen, "Chung-nan-ch'u Ti-erh-tz'u Min-cheng Hui-i Shang- Kuan-yu Min-chu Chien-cheng Kung-tso Ti Pao-kao" ["Report on the Democratic Reconstruction Delivered before the Second Central-South China Civil Administration Conference"], Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily], Hankow, November 13, 1952, p. 3.

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After convening of the People's Congress at all levels, the provincial governments were busy with census-taking, the registration of voters, elections, meetings of the hsiang congress and congress of the municipality, and the election of the delegates to be sent to the congress on the next higher level. On September 15, 1954, the National People's Congress met for the first time, [642] and on September 20, 1954, the new Constitution was passed. The principles of organization for provincial governments and local governments were formulated. A statute for the organization of the local People's Congress on all levels and the local People's Council was published, followed by the election of new chairmen and of the members of the provincial government.

A. The Provincial Government

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In the post-Constitution period, the provincial governments have been placed on a new basis. Each province has the status of an administrative district under the supervision of the Central People's Government, according to Chinese political tradition. However, there is a point of departure from the traditional system, in that some members of the provincial government are elected locally (see below) and a Provincial People's Congress has a share in the deliverative functions. The term "legislative" which is applied to the National Congress in Peking, does not appear in the section of the Constitution formulating the principles of organization for the provincial government. As a result, the Provincial People's Congress is limited to the function of a deliberative body. Thus each province, according to Article 53 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, becomes an administrative district

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modified to such an extent that its chief duties concern only the passing of budgets, the enforcing of laws, and the safeguarding of the "rights" of the citizens. Although the provincial government is an elected body and a Provincial People's Congress sits next to it, it does not resemble an American state, with its reserved powers, nor does it resemble a British borough, which operates under a special grant of powers. 635

The province under the Chinese Communist Constitution is only one of a number of administrative districts, which are comprised of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities, all directly responsible to and under the authority of the Central People's Government. Even the county and the hsiang are considered administrative districts, although they are not directly under the authority of the Central People's Government. 631

The provincial executive body consists of a governor, a number of deputy-governors, and 25-55 members of the Provincial People's Council. Although the governor, the deputy-governors, and the members of the Provincial Council are elected by the Provincial People's Congress, the commissioners, who head the twelve provincial departments -- Civil Affairs, Public Security, Finance, Grain, and the like -- are appointed by the Central People's Government, according to Article 9 of the Organizational Law of the State Council. 635

The Provincial People's Congress has the following powers, according to the Chinese Communist Constitution: 635 646

1. To insure observance and execution of the resolutions of the National People's Congress.

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2. To adopt and promulgate resolutions within the limits of their functions and power.
3. To plan economic construction, cultural construction, public works, pension work, and relief work.
4. To consider and approve budgets and financial statements.
5. To elect members to the Provincial People's Council.
6. To elect presidents of the Provincial People's Courts.
7. To elect deputies to the National People's Congress.
8. To hear and examine the work reports of the Provincial People's Council, and the Provincial People's Court.
9. To revise or annul inappropriate decisions and orders of the Provincial People's Council.
10. To revise or annul inappropriate decisions of the People's congresses of the next lower level and the inappropriate decisions and orders of the People's Councils of the next lower level.
11. To protect public property, maintain public order, and safeguard civil rights.
12. To ensure the equal rights of minority nationals.
13. To recall the members of the Provincial People's Councils and the president of the court, elected by them.

The members of the Provincial People's Congress are elected by the congresses in the counties, municipalities, etc., rather than directly by the people of the province.

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The number of members elected is governed by two principles concerning the population of the province and the number of counties which lie within the territory of each province. These two principles are stipulated by the Electoral Law of the People's Congress:

"A province with a population not exceeding 20,000,000 shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; with a population exceeding 20,000,000, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties is exceedingly small, the number of deputies may be less than 100 but not less than 50; where the population and the number of counties are exceptionally large, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but must not exceed 600....

"A county with a population not exceeding 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population exceeding 200,000 and not more than 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a population exceeding 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies. From the municipalities, towns, and important industrial and mining districts within the province, one deputy shall be elected for every 20,000 population."

These principles give the six provinces of the Central-South Region the following quotas of delegates to the National People's Congress:

Delegates to the National People's Congress

Province	No. of Delegates	Population	No. of Counties	No. of Provincial Municipalities	No. of Hsiang
Honan	535	44, 214, 594	86	12	6, 411
Hupeh	361	27, 789, 693	71	5	15, 175
Hunan	505	33, 226, 954	77	2	14, 830
Kiangsi	408	16, 772, 865	82	9	9, 994
Kwangsi	560	34, 770, 059	99	9	9, 576
Kwangtung	417	19, 560, 822	99	6	lacking

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When the local People's congresses were convened, they first elected the delegates to be sent to the People's Congress on the next higher level. Only after the National People's Congress ratified the constitution and the laws of organization of the People's Council and the People's Congress on all levels did the members of the provincial congresses and the county congresses know what their duties were to be, the number of persons to be assigned to local government, and the number of persons they were entitled to elect.

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